IN MEMORIAM: JULIUS AND ETHEL ROSENBERG, EXECUTED JUNE 19, 1953

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NO RIGHT TO IMPRISON DEPORTEES

N.Y. Times condemns Justice Dept. for jailing of Belfrage

THE N. Y. **TIMES** on June 11 editorially condemned the jailing of the **GUARDIAN**'s editor Cedric Belfrage in the first major press breakthrough in the two-year harassment of Belfrage. The **Times** spoke out sharply against the practice of holding any deportation detainee in prison, a practice which was believed to have been abandoned by the Justice Dept. until Belfrage's arrest and imprisonment on May 13. The sequence of events leading to the **Times**' editorial was this:

On June 6 **GUARDIAN** exec. editor James Aronson sent a letter to the editor of the **Times**. He noted that Belfrage had been held in West St. Federal Prison since his arrest, although he had not been convicted or accused of any crime. The sole reason for the deportation order, the letter said, was that Belfrage had been charged with membership in or affiliation with the Communist Party. Belfrage has denied under oath that he is a Communist.

"UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES": The letter noted that when Ellis Island was closed last November, some detainees awaiting deportation had been set free in bail but others,

> ". . . charged with no crime, were sent to federal, state and county jails. The action stirred a wide protest and the **Times** printed urgent pleas from Pearl Buck and others that something be done."

On Dec. 10, the letter went on, the **Times** reported that the Justice Dept. had informed district immigration directors that "under no circumstances may alien detainees any longer be placed in jail." A "spacious, cheerful" detention center in New York's Federal Building at 641 Washington St. was being prepared, according to N. Y. District Director Edward J. Shaughnessy. It was opened last January.

When Belfrage was arrested the **GUARDIAN** queried Shaughnessy on the unannounced reversal of policy. Shaughnessy replied: "That was the policy of Dec. 10, but since then experience has taught us a few things." He refused to "enlarge" except to say that Belfrage had been imprisoned because he is "actively engaged in policies which we think involve national security."

INDECENT ACTION: Aronson's letter continued:

> "Here is new evidence of the brutality of our handling of aliens, coming and going, under the Walter-McCarran Act, which President Truman characterized in his veto message as 'worse than the infamous Alien Act of 1798.' Surely our nation is not so insecure that it must hold in a federal prison without charge the editor of a small weekly newspaper, the recipient of a Guggenheim Fellowship and the author of several books which may be obtained in any public library."

On June 10, apparently on the basis of an investigation prompted by the letter, the **Times** carried a news story with an acknowledgment by Shaughnessy that seven deportation detainees were being held in West St.; 42 others were being held in the "comparative freedom" of the Washington St. detention center. The story said:

> "The disclosure that persons against whom deportation was pending still were being jailed contradicted an impression given earlier this year by the Immigration and Naturalization Service.
>
> "However, [Shaughnessy] said yesterday, it was never contemplated that all persons under detention should be housed in the Federal Building. For 'the national interest' and the general good of persons being held, he said, 'rough, tough, criminal types,' as well as 'agitators' have been sent to the House of Detention"

Of the seven men being held there, Shaughnessy said, six had served pri-

(Continued on Page 11)

"FOR ACTIVITY NOT IN THE INTEREST OF THE U.S."
Cedric Belfrage's sole activity for the last seven years has been editing the GUARDIAN. Above he is shown, with production asst. Irving Griman, in print shop.

A visitor from the East bearing tidings of peace
India's tireless "roving peace ambassador," V. K. Krishna Menon, a familiar figure in London and the UN and one of the most striking figures at Bandoeng, tells reporters in New York about his talks with Chou En-lai in Peking. Menon uses a cane because of a severe rheumatic condition.

WAR & PEACE

A 'vast effort' is on to end the cold war

By Tabitha Petran

AS DIPLOMATS gathered in San Francisco to mark the UN's 10th anniversary, the world was entering a period of the most intense diplomatic activity since the end of World War II. Statesmen of East and West—and the increasingly influential powers between—engaged in numerous preliminary journeys and conferences, some of which were directed toward what the N. Y. **Times**' James Reston (6/12) called "a vast if dispersed effort to negotiate a peace treaty in the cold war."

- In Moscow, India's Prime Minister Nehru was given the warmest welcome ever accorded a foreign statesman, while V. K. Krishna Menon, his Harry Hopkins, flew from Peking to New Delhi, to London, to New York, to Washington, in an effort to lay the ground for a Far East settlement.
- In London, Soviet and Japanese diplomats discussed a Japanese peace treaty.
- In Paris, French leaders, uneasy in the face of Moscow's resourceful

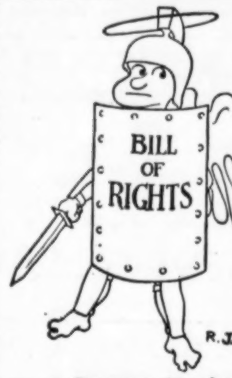
(Continued on Page 9)

"THE JUDGMENT OF JULIUS AND ETHEL ROSENBERG"

John Wexley book reviewed by John T. McManus....p. 3

NEXT WEEK: EUGENE GORDON'S "REPORT ON BANDOENG"

An intimate account by the GUARDIAN's staff reporter



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NATIONAL GUARDIAN 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

THE MAIL BAG

The Belfrage fight

SAVANNAH, GA.

Too long we have used the excuse that our Intl. Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers is under constant attack, when replying to your appeals for help in this deportation crisis. After all, through your efforts in the columns of the NATL. GUARDIAN many thousands of people have learned of the attempts to frame many of our leaders and to destroy our union.

Enclosed is our check in the amount or $10 as a contribution to help bring about Cedric Belfrage's freedom. Enclosed also is copy of a letter we are mailing today to Herbert Brownell asking his immediate release and that he take whatever steps are necessary to see that the charges against him are dropped.

Horace White
Rep., I. U. M. M. S. W.

•

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Cedric Belfrage's many friends in our First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles send him their warmest greetings. We are following your struggle for a free press with deep admiration and respect. Peter Zenger and Elijah Lovejoy would salute Belfrage as fellow warriors for a paper subject to no fear.

I am signing up for a dollar a week for the summer months. Wish it could be more.

(Rev.) Stephen H. Fritchman

•

DETROIT, MICH.

Enclosed is renewal for my sub, plus a $2 donation. Wish it could be more. Being an early victim (1949) of the McCarran Act and my husband sentenced to five years under the Smith Act (now on appeal) your paper's stalwart defense of the Bill of Rights is an inspiration to me and mine.

Cedric Belfrage's stand while in jail should go a long way towards a different attitude towards those persecuted for their beliefs. He is a brave, courageous man.

Anna Ganley

•

BURBANK, CALIF.

Naturally you feel as do most GUARDIAN readers — that Cedric Belfrage is the victim of as vile a persecution as has operated out of Washington in many a year. What a disgusting commentary the Belfrage case is on the kind of "justice" now being written into the records of the Dept. A few more months of Herbert Brownell and the American people will be treated with the once-believed-impossible spectacle of a machine-type politician rewriting some of the sacred passages of the Constitution to suit his own ignoble thinking.

I heartily agree with I. F. Stone, that the sad phase of the Belfrage case is that no powerful collective voice of the American press is presently heard in protest against the Government's treatment of the imprisoned GUARDIAN editor. Maybe most of the publishers whose drag with the present Administration counts for anything are too busy protecting their dividends in the present great American "rat race" for the profits of their absurd system.

Guy W. Finney

How crazy can you get dept.

BALTIMORE, May 14, AP— About $50 on the line and a penny a day thereafter will get you a full-time air raid warning right in your own home. And any time you wish it, there's radio entertainment to boot.

It's the Conelradio, developed by Commercial Products of Baltimore.

M. Jack Frank, one of the engineers who helped develop it, said it looks like a conventional $20 to $25 table model radio, costs about twice that much and can be operated on a penny's worth of current for 24 hours.

Any time an enemy plane is spotted, it will honk fit to drive you into the basement air raid shelter.

Bergen (N. J.) Evening Record May 14, 1955.

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Golembek, Hackensack, N. J.

Love is natural

E. PEPPERELL, MASS.

At last science has been brought into ethics, and it is actually possible to prove what is "good." Enough facts, statistics, and evidence have been gathered into a book that prove what is most natural to humans, and what is the best way to live, and how to bring up children in order to have better human beings in the future. Now it is actually possible to prove that co-operation and love are more natural than the opposite for human beings, as well as for most animals, and are of tremendous importance in childhood.

This proof is contained in M. F. Ashley Montagu's **The Direction of Human Development,** based on a series of lectures he delivered at Harvard; and if enough honest men would read it, it would be capable of changing the world. Every parent should read it.

Al Amery

"The Neurotic"

DETROIT, MICH.

I want to call your attention to a book written by Dr. Joseph B. Furst, **The Neurotic: His Inner and Outer Worlds.** (Citadel Press, 222 Fourth Av., New York City, $3.50). This is a must reading for all progressives in clarifying their own thinking and being then able to rid themselves of the "hangover" ideas derived from a false premise. This book is the first book published giving rhyme and reason to the study and nature of human brain work on the subject of psychosis.

Samuel Garrett

Carl Braden's bond

LOUISVILLE, KY.

I feel sure that most GUARDIAN readers are familiar with the Kentucky sedition cases growing out of a Negro's purchase of a home in a white neighborhood in Louisville, Ky. The GUARDIAN has given complete coverage to this situation from the very beginning—more complete than any other publication I know of.

However, some of your readers may not realize that my husband, Carl Braden, the first of the several defendants to be tried, is still in the state prison because we have been unable to raise his staggering bond of $40,000. He has been in prison since his conviction Dec. 13, six months ago.

We are, of course, appealing his conviction and 15-year sentence to the higher courts. Under Kentucky law, he has the right to be free on bond pending the appeal. But his $40,000 bond is the highest ever set in Kentucky on any kind of a case, so far as we have been able to find out, and thus far all our efforts to get it reduced have failed.

I am also under indictment, but my trial, along with the trials of others under similar indictment, has been postponed pending the outcome of Carl's appeal. Therefore, if we can secure Carl's release on bond, we can re-establish our home and be reunited with our two small children, aged three and two, while this appeal is pending. The children have been living with their grandparents since our indictment.

Approximately $25,000 has been raised and we are now seeking loans toward the additional $15,000 we need. Either cash or negotiable government bonds are acceptable by the court. If any of your readers would be willing to make a loan, either large or small, for this purpose, we would appreciate it very much. Loans can be made either through the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, 421 Seventh Av., New York, N. Y., which is attempting to raise the bond, or by contacting us direct at P. O. Box 1302, Louisville, Ky.

Anne Braden

Anti-war chemicals

NO. HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.

It is noted that the use of chemical and biological agents can so reduce the level of nutrition that an enemy's will to fight is stifled, thus preserving his property and his life, which can be restored to useful status and kept indifferent to slavery.

First, I think an immediate investigation is in order for local leaks. Then, try some of the stuff on our rabid warmongers: Imagine the possibility of such people being restored to "useful status" and at the same time obviating the necessity for its further use!

O. Pax

N. Y. Herald Tribune

"Don't worry, Ella. No Big Four is going to have a conference at this summit while I'm here."

Discouraged grouplets

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Any attempt to form a third party out of all the present grouplets and amorphous larger groupings with only general, unaccepted (though applauded) principles for foundation, and no day to day fighting program, can only lend a little more discouragement to progressives, now energetic and brightly hopeful.

Saul Gross

Call for new party

BOSTON, MASS.

Your call for a conference of progressives at this time to discuss independent political action was the most timely and important bit of news that has hit the progressive movement since 1948.

Looking back over the seven years, we can see that both major parties have committed crimes which have affected the peoples and nations of the entire globe. To move into either party would be most criminal and ignominious. Too many of us still have hope in the Democratic Party, even though it was the leader of this party who initiated the Cold War and the Korean conflict.

My proposal is that we should plan and launch an independent Farmer-Labor Party with a genuine program of peace, civil rights and economic security. The local branches of this party should be responsible for fighting on issues that directly affect the common people, such as relief for the jobless and aged, against discrimination, rent and fare hikes.

If we want to build a real people's party we must start building from the bottom up. Some of the readers have stated that a political vacuum exists today, while others contended that an independent party would be political isolation. My answer is that if a vacuum exists there is the place for our new party and, although we may be small at first, we shall grow with our deeds and actions.

A Progressive Socialist

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"If we contrast the rapid progress of mischievous discovery with the slow and laborious advances of reason, science, and the arts of peace, a philosopher, according to his temper, will laugh or weep at the folly of mankind."

—*GIBBON*, Decline & Fall of the Roman Empire.

REPORT TO READERS

To the Editor: Sir . . .

ELSEWHERE IN THIS ISSUE you will find reported the publication by the N. Y. **Times** of a letter on the Belfrage Case by GUARDIAN editor Jim Aronson. The **Times** also ran an editorial renewing its protest of several months ago which had the effect of ending (until the Belfrage Case) the practice of the Immigration Dept. of holding alien residents in jails while their deportation cases are pending.

We welcome this intervention by the nation's leading newspaper in opposition to the mistreatment of aliens by the Immigration Dept. Yet the Belfrage Case cuts deeper than the **Times** editorial would indicate.

The N. Y. Immigration District Director Edward J. Shaughnessy implied to the **Times** that Belfrage was being held in jail rather than in non-penal detention quarters as an "agitator." He put it differently to the GUARDIAN: he said Belfrage was being held in jail because he is "active in matters which we think involve national security."

FOR THE LAST SEVEN YEARS Belfrage has been active in editing the NATIONAL GUARDIAN, a newspaper with second-class mailing privileges circulating freely in all 48 states and U. S. territories and in many foreign countries. The GUARDIAN's policies are indeed critical of the domestic and foreign policies of the Eisenhower administration, as we had been of Truman in the years previous.

If Belfrage's views "involve national security," then so do those of this newspaper. It was founded in 1948 by men and women, including Belfrage, who believed then and believe now in the right to dissent. This is an American privilege, guaranteed in the Constitution.

One must therefore ask if the harassment of Cedric Belfrage should not be regarded as an attack on the GUARDIAN, and therefore on the freedom of the press.

IF THE "TIMES" would print our letter and make the comments it did on Immigration Dept. policies, it is very likely that your community's newspapers will do so too. Your letter to your editor might very well stress the view expressed by the **Times,** but it also might stress the freedom of the press issue, too.

You might ask whether your local newspaper wouldn't raise the roof if its own editor were chucked in jail for advocating the paper's policies; and you might suggest their joining the protest when another editor is jailed for his paper's views.

This is precisely why John Peter Zenger was jailed back in 1735, and freedom of the press in the U. S. today has for its cornerstone the fight-back Zenger waged for the right to freely criticize and to dissent.

Get your letter off today; your editor will be in good company by printing it; and you will be acting in defense of a democratic concept even older than our nation itself. —**THE EDITORS**

P. S.: The whole GUARDIAN staff is organizing a Committee of The Staff to protest the deportation proceedings against Belfrage and his jailing. We urge you to join: simply fill out the coupon below. And when you do, if you're behind on your sub, or haven't yet sent in a contribution to help us fight the Belfrage Case, either will be gladly accepted with the coupon. Remember: Liberty begins at home. Please write today.

COMMITTEE OF THE STAFF
Lawrence Emery, acting chairman
17 Murray St., New York City 7.

Please add my name to your Committee to help fight the Belfrage Case.

Name ....

Address ....
Street City & Zone State

Signature ....

JOHN WEXLEY'S STORY OF A WORLD-SHAKING EVENT

'The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg'

By John T. McManus

THE SECURITY of the people of the United States—and perhaps of the world—depends on the elimination from our society of injustice and political immorality, and the establishment by the people of government of complete integrity and unerring responsibility. Such was the purpose of the originators of our form of government and it is for such aims that a continuing struggle has gone on in our country through all the intervening years.

Perhaps at no time have we been closer to losing this struggle than in the years since the rise of socialism as a world concept challenging the profit system; and no instance has so focussed world attention on this struggle in our country as our government's execution on June 19, 1953, of two common citizens, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, for conspiracy to transmit information on the atom bomb to the Soviet Union.

IT WAS NEVER REVIEWED: In the two years since—and indeed during the

JOHN WEXLEY
Three years of effort

three years of the conduct of the Rosenberg Case through its trial and appeal stages and the greatest international plea for mercy in world history—no agency of government has undertaken any step to examine the evidence or the procedures of the Justice Dept. and the courts in this case. The Supreme Court itself has refused to review the case, as Justice Black pointed out at the time of the execution.

So, as in most stages of this vital struggle for justice and democracy throughout American history, it has remained for the citizenry itself to examine and expose injustice and to seek redress and remedy against recurrence.

It is in this tradition that the noted American playwright and author John Wexley has devoted his whole effort during the last three years to a finecombing of the Rosenberg Case, its backgrounds and the events which have been associated with it in the public mind.

A KNOWING FRAMEUP: The result is a 672-page volume of incalculable significance, written with the greatest clarity and circumspection, although with all the force of the underlying conviction that Julius and Ethel Rosenberg (and Morton Sobell who was convicted with them and is now serving 30 years in Alcatraz) have been the victims of a monstrous and demonstrable political frameup—a frameup knowingly initiated and carried out by the Dept. of Justice with the collaboration of members of the federal judiciary and the connivance of counsel for alleged co-conspirators appearing as witnesses against them.

Wexley's skill and power are well known from his plays **The Last Mile** (against capital punishment), **They Shall Not Die** (on the Scottsboro Case) and films like **Hangmen Also Die** and **Confessions of a Nazi Spy. The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg*** is a dramatic and compelling chronicle of human tragedy and spiderous intrigue, with penetrating research and detection by the author both in the records of the court proceedings and in the hitherto unexplored field of independent investigation.

"ANATOMY OF FRAMEUP": The book is nothing less than a masterwork, not only on the Rosenberg and Sobell Cases but on what the author terms "the anatomy of frameup" and the techniques by which public recognition of such frameups seldom comes about until years later, as in the Sacco-Vanzetti and Tom Mooney Cases here and in the world-shaking Dreyfus Case in France at the turn of the century.

The Dreyfus Case was eventually forced to public recognition and redress through the renowned **"J 'Accuse"** papers of Emile Zola, despite all efforts including imprisonment to silence him.

Wexley's work is indeed the **"J 'Accuse"** of the Rosenberg and Sobell Cases and the entire Cold War chicanery of the Justice Dept. Whether it can have the effect of its historic predecessor depends entirely upon great numbers of Americans—initially among progressives but quickly among a much wider periphery—reading and absorbing this book and forcing its findings to public action, perhaps immediately through the Senate Judiciary Committee.

PROOF OF KIDNAPING: It is an injustice to a work of such breadth to attempt to select "highlights" from among the myriad contradictions, falsehoods, forgeries and connivings uncovered in it, many for the first time. However, one set of these disclosures is now being made the basis in part for a new trial for Morton Sobell and thus becomes part of the breaking news of the day.

Contained in photostat in the book's appendix, and amplified fully in the text, are exchanges of correspondence between the Mexican Consulate in Laredo, Texas; the Mexican Migration Service in Nuevo Laredo, across the border; and the Central Office of Migration, Mexico D. F. These exchanges supply proof positive that Morton Sobell and his wife and children were kidnaped in Mexico's capital by "Secret Service Agents of the Capitol who evaded the vigilance of the Migration Service" and deposited in Laredo Texas into custody of the FBI, obviously by prearrangement, at 3:45 a.m., Aug. 18, 1950. Mexican consular authorities learned of the forced departure of the Sobells through a newspaper story in the Laredo **Times.**

NO LINK TO CONSPIRACY: At the trial, a U. S. border official testified that Sobell had been deported by Mexico. After the trial it became known that this official himself had written the word "deported" on his report at the instigation of the FBI.

Sobell did not take the stand in his trial, since the defense contended that the government had failed to link him to the alleged conspiracy involving the Rosenbergs. Thus the convicting jury had no knowledge of the illegal means by which he was taken from Mexico. **The documents obtained by Wexley now place the entire proceeding against** Sobell within the purview of a Supreme Court decision quashing a proceeding in which the defendant was similarly brought into U. S. jurisdiction illegally.

The monumental job Wexley does with new and existing evidence makes utter mincemeat of the entire plot of which Sobell is the surviving victim. To describe it thoroughly involves recounting much of the Rosenberg Case itself, for which there is not space here. For this reason, of course, a thorough reading of the book itself is the only recommendable means of comprehending the extent of the dirty work.

HELEN AND MORTON SOBELL
For both, new hope

THE LIAR GOLD: The book reveals that Harry Gold, the witness who prosecutor (now Judge) Saypol said, "forged the necessary link in the chain that points indisputably to the guilt of the Rosenbergs" was himself almost a complete forgery from start to finish. The evidence is overwhelming that he never met Dr. Klaus Fuchs, German-born British scientist who, the FBI says, identified Gold as a Soviet courier; that he never met David Greenglass (from whom he allegedly picked up information in Albuquerque in 1945) until they were lodged together in the Tombs prison eleventh floor "singing quarters" in 1950.

The evidence is equally compelling that Gold (familiar to the FBI as far back as 1947) coached Greenglass in the Tombs with the obvious connivance of the prosecution in the diagramming and lengthy description of the Nagasaki A-bomb which he later produced in court as a "true copy" of material he professed to have given Rosenberg six years earlier. (Wexley quotes numerous world-famous scientists to show that otherwise this would have been an impossible feat of memory.)

IMAGINARY TWINS: Furthermore, both Saypol and Judge Irving Kaufman knew from a previous trial, in which Gold was a witness against a former employer, that he was a pathological liar, who had concocted a wife, twin children, a select suburban home and innumerable other "phantasies" over a period of six years. Actually he was a lonely bachelor chemist for whom "it was easier to continue telling an occasional [lie] than to try and straighten the whole hideous mess out." Yet the same Gold was permitted to tell his story straight in the Rosenberg trial with the jury permitted no hint of his lying reputation, although both judge and prosecutor knew it well.

Wexley went to Albuquerque to check the story of the purported Gold-Greenglass meeting there on June 3, 1945. All manner of discrepancies turn up in the testimonies of Gold, Greenglass and his wife—a "steep flight of stairs" that didn't exist; a "back road" that wasn't there; the remarkable coincidence that Gold, supposedly an atom spy, had allegedly registered under **his own name** for the day (after spending the night in a rooming house) in the only hotel in Albuquerque known to keep records more than three years!

ROCKWELL KENT COVER: More space will be devoted in subsequent issues of the GUARDIAN to discussion of other of Wexley's findings and conclusions and their meanings both to freedom for Sobell as well as vindication for the Rosenbergs.

Of the book in general, it is a handsomely bound volume with a jacket design by Rockwell Kent; fully documented and completely indexed, with a synopsis and special index of the government's case, including the Columbia Law Review summaries on both Sobell and the Rosenbergs. With respect to the author's 10-page epilogue (see Standard Brand ad, p. 5), and the passages covering their moments just after the sentencing, one can only be determined that the world will remember Julius and Ethel by this, rather than the calumny cast upon them by their fatherland.

**THE JUDGMENT OF JULIUS AND ETHEL ROSENBERG, by John Wexley. Published by Cameron & Kahn 100 W. 23d St., New York 11, N. Y. 672 pp. $6.*

Grave-side memorial

Marking the second anniversary of the death of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell will pay tribute at the graves of the Rosenbergs in Wellwood Cemetery, Pinelawn, L. I., Sun., June 19 at 1:30 p.m.

The L. I. Railroad runs to Pinelawn where a Wellwood bus takes passengers to the cemetery. For auto directions call the committee, LO 4-9585.

AT THE WASHINGTON VIGIL ON JUNE 14, 1953
Julius' mother Sophie with Robbie (r.) and Michael Rosenberg

HOW SARTRE FELT WHEN JULIUS AND ETHEL DIED

The Rosenbergs are the business of the whole world

The following article was first published in the Paris daily "Liberation" on June 20, 1953, and was reprinted in the NATIONAL GUARDIAN on July 6 of that year. For months following it was reproduced in publications throughout the world until now it is regarded as a classic in the literature of the Rosenberg Case.

Jean-Paul Sartre, who wrote it, is the most important author and playwright to emerge in France since World War II. He was the idol of Western "anti-communist liberals" until he attended the World Peace Assembly in Vienna in 1952. Since then he has been a tireless worker for peace and world understanding. He will be a member of the French delegation to the Helsinki Peace Assembly beginning June 22.

By Jean-Paul Sartre

THE ROSENBERGS are dead and life goes on. That is what you wanted, isn't it? Only yesterday we were their comrades and you have killed them as fast as you could so that we should only be their survivors. You count on time to make us every day a little more forgetful, a little guiltier toward them to make you seem a little less cruel. Of course it will cost a little; there will be broken window panes in your embassies. But you will put in new ones and, with a little luck, the cops will shoot on the European crowds and we'll have brand new corpses all our own to turn our thoughts away from your two.

You already played that trick on us with Sacco and Vanzetti and you won.

This time you won't.

ON one point you will win: we want to harm no one; the horror and contempt you awaken in us we refuse to turn into hate. But you will never make us swallow that the execution of the Rosenbergs was nothing but a "regrettable incident" or even a judicial error. It was a legal lynching which smears a whole nation with blood and which once and for all lays bare the bankruptcy of the Atlantic Pact and your inability to lead the Western world.

Let me tell you what your mistake was: you believed that the murder of the Rosenbergs was a private settling of accounts. A hundred thousand voices cried out: "They are innocent." And stupidly you answered: "We are punishing two of our citizens according to **our laws**. It's none of your business."

Well, now, that's just it—the Rosenberg case is our business: innocents who are sent to their death are the business of the whole world. The spokesman of the Vatican himself was saying only last Thursday: "Civilization has before it a choice on which depends its acquittal or its condemnation." Everywhere people cried out to you: "Watch out! You judge yourselves in judging them; we shall have to decide whether you are men or beasts."

DO you understand now why we begged you for a new trial? When we asked for justice for the Rosenbergs we meant **also**: "Make sure that your cause is just." When we begged you to spare their lives, it meant **also**: "Spare your own." Now that we have been made your allies, the fate of the Rosenbergs could be a preview of our own future. You, who claim to be masters of the world, had the opportunity to prove that you were first of all masters of yourselves. But if you gave in to your criminal folly, this very folly might tomorrow throw us headlong into a war of extermination. No one in Europe was duped: whether you gave life or death to the Rosenbergs was the measure of whether you were preparing for peace or world war.

There had been the sinister clowning of MacArthur, the bombings on the Yalu, McCarran's cops; each time you doublecrossed Europe and stood alone. And yet, your friends kept a small hope; if our governments were not able to get across their points of view it was because they disagreed among themselves, it was because France had not stood by England, it was because they were not backed by the people. But yesterday, it was the whole of Europe that moved as one—its masses, its priests, its cabinet ministers, its heads of state—to ask your President to make the simplest gesture of humanity.

We were not asking for your dollars, nor for your armaments, nor for your soldiers; only for two lives, two innocent lives.

HAVE you even understood the scope of this extraordinary truce? Class conflicts, the oldest bitternesses—all were set aside: the Rosenbergs had produced European unity. One word from you, and you too would have reaped the benefits of this

Drawings by Pablo Picasso

unification. The whole of Europe would have honored you. You answered: "To hell with Europe." Very well. But don't come to us any more with talk of an alliance. Allies consult one another, talk matters over, make mutual concessions. If you answer "No" when all we ask you is not to dishonor yourselves to no purpose, how can we believe that you will allow us to speak out when our larger interests are at stake?

Us your allies? Cut it out! Our governments today are your domestic servants. Tomorrow our people will be your victims. It's as simple as that. Of course you will come out with shameful excuses: your President couldn't grant clemency to the Rosenbergs, he had to lighten ballast in order to impose his will in Korea.

WE know now what kind of weight we amount to in your scales. On one side you put the world —on the other, McCarthy. When the Rosenbergs sat in the electric chair, the scales were down on the side of McCarthy.

Do you believe we are going to die for McCarthy? Bleed from every artery to give him a European Army? Do you believe we are going to defend the culture of McCarthy? The justice of McCarthy? That we shall let Europe be turned into a battlefield so that this blood-stained imbecile can burn books? Please understand this right now: Never shall we hand the leadership of the Western world to the murderers of the Rosenbergs.

You say that McCarthy will pass and that you are secretly planning his downfall? So what then? Your McCarthy has millions of heads. Chop one off and a hundred will sprout.

Look—I have before me on my table a photo taken last Thursday in Washington: well-fed and well-dressed men, elegant young women, are marching by asking for the execution of the Rosenbergs. In the foreground a young and pretty girl carries a sign: "Fry them and send the bodies to Moscow."

You saw these people walk in your streets at the very moment when a man and his wife were living their last hours in prison, when two desperate children were asking in vain that their parents should be returned to them. You saw them laugh, shout, wave their signs and banners—and there wasn't one among you to go and bash their heads in. Decidedly there is something rotten in America.

DON'T tell us these are only a few excitable persons, irresponsible elements. These are the very masters of the country, for it is to them that your government has given in. Do you remember Nuremberg and your theories on collective responsibility? Well, today it applies to you. You are collectively responsible for the death of the Rosenbergs, some for having sponsored this murder, the rest for having suffered it. You have allowed America to become the cradle of a new fascism. It will be useless to explain to us that this single murder is not comparable to Hitler's mass exterminations. Fascism is not defined by the number of its victims but by the manner in which they are killed.

And why this rage unleashed against a man and a woman about to die? Why this hatred which has dumbfounded the world?

Why—because you had got the notion they wnated to take your bomb! You will not rest until you are the only ones capable of blowing up the earth. President Eisenhower counted in tens of millions the innocent victims of the Rosenbergs: each one of you feels already that he is one of the dead in the war to come. Dead people it is who asked for death, last Thursday, for the thieves of the atomic secret.

UNFORTUNATELY, when we look at you from Europe we see you neither as innocents nor as corpses. We see but two innocent corpses—your victims. As for the atomic secret, it is the fruit of your sick imaginations: science develops everywhere at the same rhythm, and the manufacture of bombs is a mere matter of industrial capacities.

By killing the Rosenbergs you have quite simply tried to halt the progress of science by human sacrifice. Magic, witch-hunts, auto-da-fes, sacrifices—we are here getting to the point: your country is sick with fear. You are afraid of everything: of the Soviets, of the Chinese, of the Europeans. You are afraid of one another, you are afraid of the shadow of your own bomb. Some allies we have!

And you want to lead the way for us! You are dragging us into war through terror—a war you would promptly lose through panic at the first bombardment. I know there are brave people in your country: the lawyer for the Rosenbergs, for instance, this very man who was saying yesterday: "I am ashamed of being an American." The people of the Rosenberg Committee, hundreds of thousands of others. But what can they do but head towards martyrdom?

AND then there are the masses—still basically healthy, although befuddled by you. There are the Negroes whom you oppress. And above all, there is that small voice which was stilled yesterday, yet which can be heard better than your ranting—the voice speaking these wonderful words: "We are young, and we do not want to die, but we cannot pay this price for our lives."

After all, the Rosenbergs are Americans—and if we can still have some hope, it is because your country gave birth to this man and this woman whom you have killed.

Some day, perhaps, all these people of good-will will cure you of your fears. We hope so, for we have loved you.

Meanwhile do not be astonished if we cry out from one end of Europe to the other: Watch out! America has the rabies! Cut all the ties which bind us to her, otherwise we will in turn be bitten and run mad!

HELSINKI, JUNE 22-29

World Assembly for Peace convenes

MORE THAN 2,000 delegates are scheduled to arrive in Helsinki this week for the World Assembly for Peace opening there in the great Exhibition Hall June 22. The meeting will run through June 29 and is expected to be the most impressive peace demonstration since World War II by persons of different political persuasion.

The Exhibition Hall was redone for the assembly. Over 300 members of the Finnish Carpenters Union in one day erected 4,000 square yards of partitions for meeting rooms; 2,200 sq. yards of blue cloth were draped throughout the hall; 60 miles of wiring were installed for delegates who will follow the proceedings by simultaneous translation in English, French, German, Chinese, Spanish and Russian, the official languages of the Assembly. There will be translation in Swedish and Finnish too.

". . . LIFE ITSELF": The Assembly was convoked by the World Council of Peace at its meeting last November in Stockholm. Last March the Council's bureau suggested these aims:

"The abolition of nuclear weapons,

general disarmament, the security of all, respect for the sovereignty and rights of every nation, these must be pursued by the peoples with the energy needed where life itself was at stake."

In the midst of intense diplomatic activity by the great powers, the Assembly takes on special significance and the roster of delegates reflects this.

There will be 150 members in the French delegation, with former Premier Eduard Herriot as honorary chairman. Other delegates will be Josue de Castro, president of the UN Food and Agricultural Organization, from Brazil; Prof. Oscar Lange, member of the State Council of Poland; Tetsu Katayama, Prime Minister of Japan in 1947-48, who will lead his delegaion; Alejandro Rios Valdivia, Chilean MP and v.p. of the Radical Party; V. Ganadharan, President of India's Travancore-Cochin Legislative Assembly.

CHURCHMEN AND SCIENTISTS: Important representatives of the trade union movements of Western Europe and Asia will be present. Among the churchmen will be: H. R. Williamson of the Baptist Missionary Society of Great Britain; Prof. Hromadka of Czechoslovakia; the Metropolitan Nikolai of the Russian Orthodox Church; Rajogopal Sastrigal, High Priest of the Rameshwaram Temple in India. Among the scientists and intellectuals: Dr. Leonardo Guzman, of the Chilean Institute of Radiology; Dr. Meghnad Saha, founder and director of the Calcutta Institute of Nuclear Physics; Daniel Valois-Arce, director of the Colombian Natl. Library. Among the

organizations: World Federation of UN Associations; Women's Intl. League for Peace and Freedom.

The World Peace Council said last week:

"The object of the Assembly is not adoption of a series of resolutions by majority vote, but the search for a possible basis of agreement between representatives of different views and interests on some of the difficult problems facing the nations."

Congress of Mothers

Representatives from 65 countries will attend a World Congress of Mothers to be held in Paris July 7-10. The aim of the Congress: "To defend children against war, for disarmament and friendship among peoples."

WEST COAST WORK STOPPAGE TOO

Delegations to Washington and UN protest 5th trial for Harry Bridges

UP AND DOWN the West Coast and in Hawaii the movement of seaborne cargo and the operation of warehouses came to a complete halt on Mon., June 6. The 24-hour protest work stoppage opened the fifth round of a perpetual effort of the U. S. government to deport Harry Bridges, president of the independent Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union.

A denaturalization proceeding against Bridges scheduled to start June 20 in San Francisco will be the fifth government try in 21 years. Bridges has four times been cleared of charges of Communist membership or affiliation in that time; adverse rulings against him have twice been overturned by the Supreme Court, the last time in 1953. In the first Supreme Court decision in 1945 the late Justice Frank Murphy wrote:

"Seldom if ever in the history of this nation has there been such a concentrated and relentless crusade to deport an individual because he dared to exercise that freedom which belongs to him as a human being and is guaranteed him by the Constitution."

EVERY STONE TURNED: Earlier a Federal judge had commented:

"It is notable that the alien, in one fashion or another, has been under almost continuous investigation. . . . Prior to and during the course of the second trial the [Immigration] Service has enlisted the powerful cooperation of the FBI. The country has been scoured for witnesses, every circumstance of Bridges' active life had been subjected to scrutiny, and presumably no stone left unturned which might conceal evidence of the truth of the charges which the alien so flatly denied. The most significant feature of the inquiry, as it seems to me, is the paucity of the evidentiary product as contrasted with the magnitude of the effort expended in producing it."

During the month of May the union circulated a petition addressed to President Eisenhower; only members of the union and its auxiliary could sign. It cited their gains under Bridges' 20-year

(Continued on Page 6)

Bridges case pamphlet

THE ILWU (150 Golden Gate Av., San Francisco, Calif.) has just published a 14-page pamphlet, **The Everlasting Bridges Case.** It is a capsule summary of the 21-year government vendetta against the union leader. A foreword makes this appeal:

"This pamphlet presents the story of a law-suit that is unprecedented in the history of American jurisprudence. If the facts recited move you to indignation or shame, as we believe they will, we hope you will write to President Eisenhower, urging him to use the influence of his high office to end the persecution of Harry Bridges."

CALENDAR

Newark, N. J.

A GALA WORLD FRIENDSHIP PARTY
Sat., June 18, 8 p.m., at 516 Clinton Av. Contribution: $1. Auspices: New Challenge of New Jersey.

Detroit

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Mon., July 4, Arcadia Park (Wicks Rd. off Telegraph)
NAT GANLEY, 13 years business agent Local 155 UAW-CIO, will speak on **THE UAW CONTRACT: WHAT IT IS & WHAT IT ISN'T.** Food, games, dancing. Adm. 50c. Pensioners and unemployed, 10c. Children free.

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Limited run—Premiere, June 24-Fri.
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The Innocent and . . . the Guilty

On the anniversary of the execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, as a public service, we reprint below a portion of a stirring new book by John Wexley, "The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg" (Cameron & Kahn, $6).

JUNE 19, 1953

". . . It was 8:10 o'clock. There was the chair, its thick, black straps, its dangling wires — the twentieth-century torture-rack designed to send her reeling in horror, send her crawling, terrified, to the feet of these agents of the Grand Inquisitor. There was the quintessence of the 'Third Degree,' meant to wring from them the 'Mea Culpa' that would turn them into a pair of puppets to be carted from courtroom to courtroom to mouth falsehoods against other heretics. There was the diabolical prod devised by their judge to make them toss terror-stricken each night with the dread of its proximity and scream out finally, 'We'll talk — we'll talk!'

". . . But oh, you scribes — we have talked. For three years we've talked of our innocence and sworn to it before God and man. Do you imagine this shameful contrivance will do what a thousand days and nights would not? Did you hear any guilt from the lips of Socrates or Bruno or Joan? Don't you remember what was done to wrest a confession from Capt. Dreyfus? Or if that is too far afield, perhaps you will recall what you did here in Georgia to Leo Frank? And if that is too far South what you did out West to Tom Mooney, and down East to Sacco and Vanzetti? Did you extract any guilt from the 9 Negro boys in Scottsboro? Then, too, you shrugged off the protests of good and decent Americans, all the truly patriotic who sought to save them, as Reds and dupes. All through the bloody history of hatred of the dissenter, you tried to ease your consciences by calling them would-be martyrs. But look back at history, you smug and self-righteous ones — and see who were the innocent and who the guilty, who the dupes and who the patriots. . . !"

The historic task of this generation of Americans is to vindicate Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and Morton Sobell. As Mr. Wexley says, history will surely point out who were the guilty and who the innocent. But there is an immediate job to be done — to free Morton Sobell. It can never be said that the United States is a democracy as long as Morton Sobell sits on Alcatraz.

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Land and oil: Behind Peron's battle with Catholic Church

By Elmer Bendiner

TWO MESSAGES sounding a single keynote came from Pope Pius XII and President Eisenhower to a conference last April of 400 leading Catholics in Latin America, meeting to map a significant campaign. The keynote was: Fight communism by bringing the Latins back to the Church and giving them a better share of the land.

The eight-day Catholic Congress on Rural Life, in Santiago, Panama, was co-sponsored by the Ford Foundation. It seemed guided from the wings by U.S. Foreign Operations Administration aides and from the platform by Msgr. Luigi Ligutti of Des Moines, Ia.,

JUAN PERON
A shaky seat in the storm

and the Most Rev. Albert R. Zuroweste, Bishop of Belleville, Ill.

The correspondent of the French weekly **Tribune des Nations** (5/13) said Msgr. Ligutti "seemed to be the representative of the Vatican and the State Dept. at the same time." He proposed Washington as the headquarters of the whole Catholic effort in Latin America and, seconded by Bishop Zuroweste, laid down the line that U.S. technical assistance projects could work through Church organizations, and vice versa.

NO. 2—PERONISM: Tribune des Nations summed up the conference's meaning for the State Dept.: "Replacement of inefficient or hostile Protestant missions" by Catholic groups "with a subtler doctrine, more adaptable to local conditions."

The Washington-Church accord cited one major enemy after communism: Peronism. The partnership's line did not come as a surprise to Argentina's President Juan Domingo Peron. Though the Church at times had been friendly to Peron (in 1947 he re-established compulsory Catholic education in the schools after a 60-year lapse) the Argentine hierarchy clearly wanted any successor to Peron to be right-wing and close to them. Church leaders were grooming the Argentine Christian Democratic movement as a political arm. It is small now but with Vatican and Washington backing it could be powerful, particularly if it gained strength within the labor movement.

Peron moved quickly to cut down this threat from the right and turn the menace to his advantage. The U.S.-Catholic partnership had weak spots. Argentines, though mostly Catholic, are not known for their church-going or for following the political line of their priests. A fight with the Church, far from scandalizing the country, could win back for Peron some of his waning popular support. He turned the trick by pushing through a bill to make divorce legal and promised separation of church and state; he took the priests out of the schools and sent them back to the churches.

THE LAND-OWNERS: That maneuver appeased the working and middle classes. His major backers, the big landowners of the pampas, were happy for another reason. Though willing to go along with foreign capital, the landed rich of Argentina have little to gain by closer ties with the U.S. They raise cattle and grain and so does the U.S.; a deal is therefore unlikely. On the other hand the British, requiring both cattle and grain are logical partners. When the Church ties up with Washington the land owners of Argentina prefer the Anglicans.

Peron, sure of a solid backing, conducted his warfare with accustomed showmanship. He jailed priests, banned Church parades, neatly timed the triumphant return of a prize-fighter to compete with Church festivals. He paraded as the greatest anti-clerical since the Mexican revolution.

The campaign obscured some significant maneuvers. Throughout the headlined drive for church-state separation, some North Americans were quietly dickering in Argentina: financier Floyd Odlum of the Atlas Corp., representatives of Standard Oil of N.J. and Cal. and of Royal Dutch-Shell.

THE OIL DEAL: For 20 years, even in his pro-U.S. moods, Peron has never dared to touch Argentina's vast, still scarcely tapped oil resources. Throughout Latin America the oil barons are viewed as the embodiment of foreign domination. Foreign ownership of Argentine oil is expressly ruled out by the constitution. Since 1935 the government-owned Yacimientos Petroliferos Fiscales has been producing 80,000 barrels a day, far short of the 280,000 needed.

In April the oil companies made their deal: long-term leases (with terms still unrevealed) for drilling and exploitation of Patagonian oil fields, with royalties on every barrel of oil produced. The oil, aside from the financial return to the Peron regime, was meant to soothe Washington, plant discord in its new partnership with the Vatican, and head off any massive intervention by the U.S. Embassy. It worked. The **N.Y. Times** (4/3) reported:

> "The U.S. State Dept. has been closely following the oil negotiations and is understood to be encouraged by the Peron decision. That decision may herald the re-entry of foreign private capital into the development of other enterprises. . . ."

"OTHER TASKS TO FACE": The deal breezed through the Argentine Congress with the customary thumping Peronista majority, but it will take a constitutional convention to put it into effect. To call one for the express purpose of the oil give-away would stir overwhelming resistance. Peron finessed it this way: as a climax to his feud with the Church he called a convention to be held before October in order to write into law the separation of church and state, a wholly popular cause. The **N.Y. Times** (4/8) gave the show away:

> "Such an assembly would also have other tasks to face, many diplomatic observers believe. These asserted that it was probable that Article 40 of the Constitution, which reserves all mineral wealth to the government, would be altered to permit the signing of more attractive contracts with foreign oil companies for the development of the national oil resources."

Though Peron is widely credited with being the best improviser in Latin America, even his sleight-of-hand is no match for Argentina's problems. In off-the-cuff statements Peronistas have admitted that Argentina can hope for a return of prosperity only with another world war, when its beef, hides and wheat can again bring boom prices.

THE BASIC ISSUE: The fundamental problem is land—and Peron has never touched the great ranches of his principal backers. Conditions—for the landless farm laborer—have so deteriorated that though Argentina is primarily an agricultural country, most of its people live in the cities. The plains are left to cattle and landlords.

Argentina has the highest standard of living in Latin America, but the gains made by the urban working class in earlier Peron years are being whittled away by inflation. In Buenos Aires, for example, the cost-of-living index climbed from a base figure of 100 in 1943 to 236.5 in 1949 to 678.2 in 1954.

Faced with an economic crisis and a steady trend to the left by Peronistas in the labor movement, Peron has had to clamp down hard on popular dissent. His war on the left, using the well-trained torturers of the dreaded Seccion Special, makes his feud with the Church look like shadow-boxing.

THE JAILED ONES: In the "state of internal warfare" decreed by Peron in September, 1951, prisoners can be held indefinitely without charges, to be released only by order of Peron.

On Feb. 15 Radical Party deputy Santiago Nudelman revealed there were 682 political prisoners in Argentine jails. Early this month another Radical deputy, Carlos Perette, counted 700. These include many leaders of the strikes of a year ago and seven of their lawyers. There have been no trials. The lawyers have appealed to their colleagues throughout the world to protest.

THE REAL DANGER: The whole subject is to get a full airing at a "Continental Congress for the Freedom of Political Prisoners and the Rights of Man," scheduled for later this month in Santiago, Chile. Sponsored by Chilean and Argentine organizations of widely varying political complexion, the conference was to be keynoted by a call from Antonia Sofia, president of the Argentine League for the Rights of Man:

> "We have come to the conclusion that the plan of repression under which our people suffer stems from the coordinated efforts of continental reaction. For this reason, if the cause of liberty is to triumph, the response of the peoples of America must be coordinated and united as in the days of the fight for national independence."

The rumblings on the left drowned out the menace from Rome, where Pius XII was reported ready to excommunicate Peron. Argentine observers told the GUARDIAN the intervention they feared most might come from Washington—an intervention which could sweep out Peron but sweep in a dictatorship as bad or worse.

The Bridges story

(Continued from Page 5)

leadership—"we are better and happier Americans today"—called the endless prosecution of Bridges "a disgrace to our country, its laws and its traditions," and asked the President to "exercise the full authority of your executive power to order the dismissal of the proceedings. . . ."

HARRY BRIDGES
Perpetual jeopardy

GOING TO UN TOO: Timed to coincide with the Monday work stoppage, a delegation of nine sought to present the petition to the President; they got no farther than Earle D. Chesney, an assistant on the White House staff. The delegates came from Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Cleveland, Honolulu and Vancouver, B.C. From Washington they planned to go to New York to put their case before the Human Rights Commission of the UN.

Simultaneously a 15-man delegation tried to interview Bruce Barber, district director of the Immigration Service in San Francisco. He refused to see the delegation as a group, offered to meet them one by one. They refused with the comment:

> "We believe that treatment received is indicative and typical of the attitude of the Dept. of Immigration which seems arrogantly contemptuous of the rights of people."

TAYLOR JOINS OFFENSE: A request for a delay in the denaturalization hearings from June 20 to Sept. 1 was rejected last week by chief Federal Judge O. D. Hamlin. Defense attorney Richard Gladstein argued vainly that, having just completed the Hugh Bryson trial, he needed more time to prepare, and that associate counsel Telford Taylor of New York would not be able to appear until some time after June 20. The proceedings will be conducted before Federal Judge Louis E. Goodman sitting without a jury.

Bridges became a naturalized citizen in 1945 following his first clearance by the Supreme Court. This will be the second action against him since that time, based on charges that he answered falsely in denying CP membership or affiliation when acquiring citizenship.

Calif. Peace Festival will honor Wm. Kerner

A PEACE FESTIVAL to honor the late William Kerner, scheduled to be held June 26, has been postponed till Sunday, July 17. It will take place on the Jean Ireland Ranch in Sebastopol, Calif., from 1 to 6 p.m. The address is 2160 No. Gravenstein Highway, Sebastopol.

Kerner, who died Feb. 23 at the age of 36, was chairman of the No. California Peace Council and was active for many years in the world peace movement. The festival will feature international dance groups, a musical program and other cultural events. A buffet supper will be served.

Torture of truth

In the Feb. 21 issue you say: ". . . During World War II Nikita Khruschev took care of the politics. Politics meant provoking German atrocities . . . to disillusion the captive Ukrainian people." Did German atrocities require Russian provoking?

St. Louis IRENE McKEE

In the first flush of their conquest of the Ukraine the Germans were welcomed as liberators. Within a year they had organized a vast army of collaborators, including thousands of Red army prisoners and deserters and battalions of disaffected minority groups, Circassians, Tartars, etc. Andrei Vlasov, a turncoat Red general, led the operation. An obvious Communist tactic was to destroy the Ukrainians' confidence in their new masters by deliberately provoking characteristic Nazi brutality. This they did by isolated acts of terrorism and sabotage and so successfully that Nazi policy soon changed from collaboration to genocide.—Ed.

Time, March 28, 1955

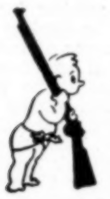
THE LOYALTY CERTIFICATE DISCHARGES

The 'undesirables' in the U.S. Army

THIS SPRING congressmen from the State of Washington received a letter from a lawyer representing Cpl. Walter Kulich, a young Army reservist from Aberdeen, Wash. It related what Rep. Don Magnuson (D) called "incredible" alternatives facing Kulich: disprove the charge that his father is a Communist or have the honorable discharge granted him in January changed to an undesirable discharge, which would deprive him of veterans' benefits.

The congressmen (Thomas M. Pelly and Russell V. Mack, both Republican, joined by Rep. George P. Miller D-Calif.) demanded an investigation of the loyalty-security program that made the Kulich case possible. Since both father and son deny the allegation, Pelly described it as "guilt by association, even if the association happens to be your father and even if there isn't any guilt." Magnuson wanted to know: "Since when does an American citizen have to prove his innocence?"

IT BEGAN WITH JOE: The answer in part for the Army is: since Sen. McCarthy in February, 1953, charged "Twenty Years of Treason in the Army" and, following hearings on Dr. Irving Peress, the Army knuckled under and enforced its program of undesirable discharges for "security risks." The system has already brought such discharges and threat of discharges to more than a thousand servicemen (the Air Force recently cited 550 cases in



process, the Army 500). Among the charges: membership in a Chicago local of United Packinghouse Workers; employment by the Detroit Urban League, an organization "reported to be subversive"; holding "Russian ideas"; "adhering to the Communist line" in college political discussions; "knowing people reputed to be Communist sympathizers."

Behind it is the Army loyalty certificate, in effect since 1948. It asks an inductee to name organizations on the Attorney General's list of which he has been a member, or employed by or which

> ". . . I have attended or been present at or engaged in, organizational or social activities, or . . . with which I have been identified or associated with in some other manner. . . ."

THE BOOBY TRAP: Instructions on the sheet state that under this the inductee may, under the Fifth Amendment or the Army's Universal Code of Military Justice, choose not to sign.

Interlandi in Des Moines Register

"Let me give you a tip, buddy, don't join any organizations while on campus . . . ten years from now, somebody calls it subversive, and WHAM, you're out of a job, just like that. . . ."

Carl Moore in magazine **Frontier** (11/54) wrote:

> ". . . Today's draftee must regard the Loyalty Certificate as a booby trap which if not 'handled with care' could blow up in his face and mutilate him for life. If he invokes the privilege the Army presumes him 'guilty' and discharges him as an 'undesirable,' a 'security risk' . . . if he admits any degree of association of the taboo list (or . . . not on the list), no matter how many years ago, he may also be discharged. . . . Refusal to turn informer and name names of friends and associates can be used as evidence against a 'divulger.' . . ."

"Suspects" are kept in the lowest service category in "non-sensitive jobs," doctors are refused commissions (GUARDIAN 6/21/54). When he nears the end of his two-year service, the draftee is presented with a letter of allegations to which he may reply or ask for a hearing before an Army Field Board. Later, if his discharge is other than honorable, he may appeal to an Army Dischage Review Board in Washington.

In the past the result has almost invariably been an undesirable discharge. This disqualifies the man from state and national veterans' benefits, Natl. Service Life Insurance, veterans' schooling, mustering-out pay, unemployment insurance after discharge. Since an honorable discharge is frequently needed in job or professional recommendations, it can be a scar for life.

THE MARSHALL CASE: A dramatic story of the Army's vindictiveness is that of Charles Marshall, a 23-year-old Loyola Univ. graduate, who played for a St. Louis Cardinals farm club in the Carolina League before induction. Nearing the end of his service in the "non-sensitive" job of keeping the day room clean at Ft. Ord, Calif., he was told at 8:30 a.m. Mar. 26, that he would receive a "U-D" (undesirable discharge) in four hours; processing usually takes three days. He was ushered off the post at noon without discharge papers, which he had refused to sign. While his lawyer got a temporary restraining order, he re-entered and was reassigned; but by 11 p.m., he was forced off the post again, this time without his clothes. His lawyer, under Army rules, was not permitted to see the actual charges against him, but had 10 minutes to look at a digest.

Young Marshall's "crimes" after two years of service which had been rated "excellent": having copies of the **Nation** and **New Republic** in his locker; having a mother, Mrs. Dorothy Marshall, who "entertained Negroes socially"; and a father who "passed a law establishing miscegenation in Calif." (The father, Daniel Marshall, a noted Los Angeles lawyer, participated in the last Rosenberg appeals and once successfully fought to the Calif. Supreme Court a case legalizing mixed marriages.)

RECORD DOESN'T MATTER: Despite the Army ruling that "the type of discharge will reflect accurately the nature of the service rendered," charges on which these "loyalty U-D's" are based have, like Marshall's, nothing to do with the service record.

Superior officers testified that a Bronx lieutenant was one of the most outstanding soldiers in camp. But this was over-weighed by unidentified allegations that he lived in an apartment house tenanted by communists, and that he helped organize a student union where one member among hundreds was interested in "another Communist-controlled organization."

Nothing less than "Honorable Discharge for Honorable Service" is what servicemen contesting these cases demand. They base this on March 17, 1954, testimony by Defense Secy. Wilson before the House Armed Services Comm.:

> "A person who may have had some black marks in the past but who has demonstrated by his service to the complete satisfaction of the military department that he has earned the coveted reward of an honorable discharge should not be denied it."

"GENERAL DISCHARGE": They also cite a letter Army Secy. Stevens wrote on Feb. 1 to McCarthy regarding doctor-private Marvin Belsky, who invoked the Fifth Amendment before McCarthy's committee last year. Citing legal questions and "impracticability," Stevens wrote:

> ". . . this would mean that a person who is forced into service by induction and required to serve two years must look forward at the end of this obligated service to a dishonorable discharge, merely because he has availed himself of a right guaranteed by the Constitution."

Since this February the Army has been granting some "general discharges under honorable conditions," which retain veteran benefits. Previously a general discharge was only for misfits, homosexuals, or chronic petty offenders. Veterans are not satisfied with this new compromise category which, on unchallenged information, can now brand them for life as "suspects."

THE ST. HELEN CASE: Whether the serviceman can defend his Constitutional rights in civilian courts beyond the Review Board may be tested in the case of Roger St. Helen, a San Franciscan receiving wide support. Charges against St. Helen, a Univ. of Calif. graduate, are participation in the 1948 Wallace campaign, and his and his wife's "guilt by association through the mails" with various groups and individuals. Judge Oliver Carter of the U.S. Circuit Court in San Francisco ordered the Army to halt its discharge proceedings, but the Army ignored the order. Carter is considering whether he can make a ruling on the merits of St. Helen's case.

The implications of this punitive follow-up to the Army's oath (7,000,000 have signed it since 1948) are much broader than the effects on the lives of the men now fighting discharge. It can and is being used against reservists,

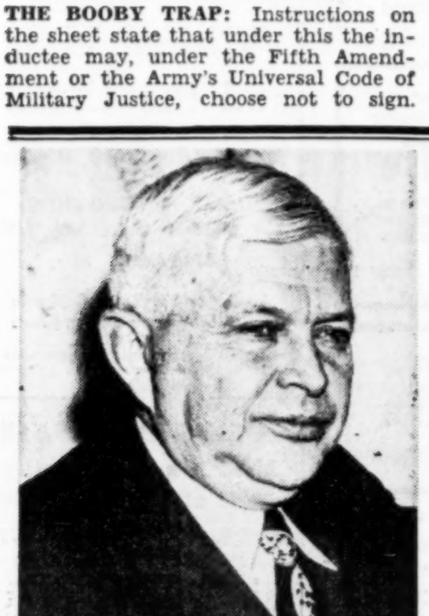
whose last active Army service was in World War II. **Frontier's** writer comments:

> "Through it the Army can wield a formidable veto power over active members of unions, civic organizations and the like."

Letters to Reps. Magnuson, Pelly, Mack and Miller (House Office Bldg., Washington, D. C.) supporting their call for an investigation could help bring the Army's policies to nationwide attention. In 1953, a national protest following Edward R. Murrow's TV program on Lt. Milo Radulovich's threatened "loyalty" dismissal, forced the Army to withdraw it. A recent victory, after American Civil Liberties Union protests, was the Defense Dept.'s withdrawal of the oath for all college students required to enroll in the Reserve Officers Training Corps.

Action groups

Urging "Honorable Discharge for Honorable Service," committees of veterans and servicemen have been formed in some areas to raise legal funds and publicize armed forces "loyalty discharges." They include the Servicemen's Defense Comm., Box 78402, Los Angeles 16, Calif.; the Veterans Civil Liberties Comm., 435 Duboce Av., San Francisco, Calif.; the Doctors' Civil Liberties Comm. and non-medical group in formation in New York City.



DEFENSE SECY. WILSON

"THE BADGE OF INFAMY"

Ex-servicemen protest to the Pentagon

ATTY. STANLEY FAULKNER and a delegation of ex-servicemen recently sought to lay before Defense Secy. Wilson the problem of GI's and officers who, after unblemished service records, receive "other-than-honorable" discharges as the result of "loyalty" checks. Secy. Wilson was unavailable but in a statement handed to Stephen S. Jackson, asst. gen. counsel for the Department, the group said:

> **"There can be no justification for drafting men into the service and after they have served honorably, discharge them with the . . . badge of infamy. . . . The man who receives this undesirable discharge is deprived of re-employment rights, new employment, professional standing, continued college education and community acceptance. . . . When discharged he is treated like a convicted criminal. He is deprived of his mustering-out pay, his uniform and escorted off the post by guards to never again enter the grounds of the camp."**

The delegation warned that the threat of such treatment would so intimidate youths facing the draft that "we can look forward to a generation of persons who will be devoid of independent thinking."

Jackson made no direct answer to the plea for "honorable discharge for honorable service," said only that "security risks" could not render full service since they could not be assigned to classified work.

See you at the BIG GUARDIAN WEEK-END AT WINGDALE LODGE Fri.-Sun., June 24-26

SECURITY PROGRAM UNCHECKED

Court avoids constitutional issue on loyalty tests in Peters case

THE SUPREME COURT on June 6 ruled in effect that Dr. John Punnett Peters is a loyal citizen; but it refused to look at the constitutionality of the government's "loyalty" test which had pinned "a badge of infamy" upon him without any chance for him to face and question his secret accusers. Dr. Peters as an indivdual was vindicated, but the security program which victimized him was left free to go its reckless way.

Chief Justice Warren, who wrote the majority 7 to 2 opinion, cited the long-established habit of the Supreme Court not to consider a constitutional issue if a case can be decided on narrower grounds. Justices Douglas and Black, although they concurred with the majority, both held in separate opinions that the constitutional question should have been faced up to in this case (see excerpts from Justice Douglas' opinion, this page).

A NARROW ISSUE: Dr. Peters' attorneys—Thurman Arnold, Paul Porter and Abe Fortas—contended that he was deprived of "liberty and property without due process of law" when he was denied the right to confront and cross-examine his accusers at a loyalty hearing in 1953. They asked that the Court decide the case solely on that issue, were surprised when the Court itself, during oral argument, injected the narrow technical issue upon which it finally ruled. Arnold at that time bluntly told the Justices that he "would not like to win the case on that ground."

Dr. Peters, senior professor of medicine at Yale University, was a part-time consultant to the federal Public Health Service until his dismissal in 1953. His loyalty was first questioned in 1949 but he was cleared by a Security Agency board without a hearing. In 1951, after loyalty standards had been revised, he was cleared again following a hearing. In 1953 the now-defunct Loyalty Review Board, on its own motion, decided on a "post-audit" of his case, found a "reasonable doubt" of his loyalty, ordered his dismissal and barred him from any federal employment for three years.

DR. PETERS & SECRETARY
He would have been happier

HAPPY—IN A WAY: The Court ruled that the Board in following that procedure was "patently in violation" of its authority and jurisdiction—a point neither raised nor questioned by Dr. Peters' attorneys. The Court ordered that the loyalty finding and the bar to government employment be "expunged" from the records of the Civil Service Commission. A plea for Dr. Peters' reinstatement was sidestepped by noting that his original appointment expired in December, 1953. Said Dr. Peters in New Haven:

> "I suppose I should be very happy about the decision, and in a way I am. But I'm disappointed that the court did not rule on the constitutional principles involved."

He said he wasn't planning on asking for reappointment, adding:

> "I don't much care for myself. It all happened so long ago. But we older fellows [he is 67] have got to carry the fight against these firings. The younger men are not in a position to speak out."

It was noted that few if any federal employes trapped in the loyalty net could finance an appeal to the Supreme Court just to clear their names.

"GRAVE DOUBT": Although Justice Black concurred in the court's ruling, he wrote:

> "But I wish it distinctly understood that I have grave doubt as to whether the Presidential order [creating the loyalty program] has been authorized by any act of Congress. That order and others associated with it embody a broad, far-reaching espionage program over government employes. These orders look more like legislation to me than properly authorized regulations to carry out a clear and explicit command of Congress. I also doubt that the Congress could delegate power to do what the President has attempted to do in the Executive Order under consideration here. And of course the Constitution does not confer law-making power on the President."

The Court's ruling will have little effect on the Eisenhower "security" program but will bear upon older cases under the Truman administration.

Justice Douglas on Peters case

Justice William O. Douglas, who concurred with the majority decision, nevertheless held that the administrative procedure in the Peters case was valid and that the case therefore should have been decided on the constitutional issue raised. Following are excerpts from his opinion denouncing the government's use of "faceless informers":

WITH ALL DEFERENCE, I do not think we can avoid the constitutional issue in this case. . . .

Dr. Peters was condemned by faceless informers, some of whom were not known even to the board that condemned him. Some of these informers were not even under oath. None of them had to submit to cross-examination. None had to face Dr. Peters. So far as we or the board know, they may be psychopaths or venal people, like Titus Oates, who revel in being informers. They may bear old grudges. Under cross-examination their stories might disappear like bubbles. Their whispered confidences might turn out to be yarns conceived by twisted minds or by people who, though sincere, have poor faculties of observation and memory.

Confrontation and cross-examination under oath are essential, if the American ideal of due process is to remain a vital force in our public life. We deal here with the reputation of men and their right to work—things more precious than property itself. We have here a system where government with all its power and authority condemns a man to a suspect class and the outer darkness, without the rudiments of a fair trial. The practice of using faceless informers has apparently spread through a vast domain. It is used not only to get rid of employes in the Government, but also employes who work for private firms having contracts with the Government. . . .

•

It has touched countless hundreds of men and women and ruined many. It is an un-American practice, which we should condemn. It deprives men of "liberty" within the meaning of the Fifth Amendment, for one of man's most precious liberties is his right to work. When a man is deprived of that "liberty" without a fair trial, he is denied due process. If he were condemned by Congress and made ineligible for Government employment, he would suffer a bill of attainder, outlawed by the Constitution. . . . An administrative agency—the creature of Congress—certainly cannot exercise powers that Congress itself is barred from asserting. . . .

•

Those who see the force of this position counter by saying that the Government's sources of information must be protected, if the campaign against subversives is to be successful. The answer is plain. If the sources of information need protection they should be kept secret. But once they are used to destroy a man's reputation and deprive him of his "liberty," they must be put to the test of due process of law. The use of faceless informers is wholly at war with that concept. When we relax our standards to accommodate the faceless informer, we violate our basic constitutional guarantees and ape the tactics of those whom we despise.

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War & peace

(Continued from Page 1)

German policy, conferred informally with Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov, who was on his way to San Francisco.

- From Bonn Chancellor Adenauer hastened to the U.S. to "co-ordinate" Western policy on Germany at meetings of the Western Big Three, who are trying to line up a common anti-Soviet front prior to the "summit" talks.

BIG INITIATIVE: All this diplomatic activity has been set in motion by the socialist world's most recent initiative to end the cold war. This initiative was signalled in Molotov's Feb. 8 speech to the Supreme Soviet at the time of the government changes in Moscow. Molotov then underscored the threat of W. German rearmament to co-existence and the alternative open to Soviet policy if the West went ahead with its plans. His speech was followed by a series of initiatives concerning Formosa, Austria, Yugoslavia, disarmament.

The most important move to date in this developing diplomacy was the U.S.S.R.'s June 7 note to the Bonn Government, inviting Adenauer to Moscow to discuss normalization of relations. In that note Moscow emphasized that normal relations in the past had brought advantages to both countries, while hostile relations had led to "untold suffering and misery." It warned that if "certain aggressive circles of some states" succeed in "bringing to fruition" their plans to "worsen relations between the two countries," Germany would again become a battlefield and this time suffer "annihilation."

CONSISTENT "BOMB": Pointing out that Soviet policy is "favorable to the basic national interests of the German people," the U.S.S.R. said normalization of relations would help solve outstanding problems—including that of reunification. It stressed the importance of establishing cultural and trade relations between the two countries, noting that in the past such trade has accounted for 20% of the total trade turnover of both.

In the West, the Soviet note exploded "like a bombshell" (UP, 6/8). Western press comment generally termed it "sensational," "new," a "drastic change" in policy. London saw it as "one of the most important international developments since the end of World War II" and a sign that the U.S.S.R. has abandoned its policy of solving the German problem with the U.S., Britain and France in favor of a direct settlement with the Germans (N.Y. Herald Tribune, 6/10).

In fact, the note demonstrated the consistency of Soviet policy. Some of its paragraphs appear to have been taken almost word for word from earlier Soviet statements on the German problem. Soviet policy has always aimed at a united, independent and democratic Germany; its proposal at Potsdam to provide a central administration for the country was turned down by the Western powers, which were already looking to the partition of Germany.

ALTERNATE ROUTE: In working toward this goal, the U.S.S.R. has the choice of negotiating with the Western three, as provided by Potsdam, or through direct negotiations with the Germans themselves. It has long made clear that if the West made the division of Germany permanent—rearming the western half within the anti-Soviet coalition—it would deal directly with the Germans.

This was the meaning of the Soviet note to Britain and France, last Dec. 20, warning of the abrogation of the Soviet-French and Soviet-British alliances, if the Paris agreements were ratified. (The alliances later were abrogated, thus freeing Moscow's hands for the alternative policy.)

This was the meaning of the important Jan. 15 Soviet statement on Germany, virtually suppressed here. In it the U.S.S.R., on the one hand, proposed Big Four talks on Germany's reunification on the basis of the Eden plan (advanced at the Feb., 1954 Berlin Conference), for international supervision of free all-German elections. On the other, it offered to establish diplomatic relations with Bonn.

ONE BIG "IF": Moscow emphasized at that time, and subsequently, that "such negotiations [among the four powers on Germany] would be meaningless and impossible if the Paris agreements were ratified" (New Times, 2/5). The meaning was underlined by the U.S.S.R.'s Jan. 25 declaration that the state of war with Germany was ended, and by Molotov's speech. Recent Soviet comments about four-power talks failed to mention German unity as a subject for discussion.

The June 7 note does not close the door to a four-power solution for Germany; but it is the strongest warning yet that the door is closing. It obviously is designed to create many possibilities, to enlarge still further the scope of a Soviet diplomacy, already impressing the western world with its "elasticity" (NYT, 6/8).

The Soviet note, said the Wall St. Journal (6/9),

> ". . . is right down many Germans' alley . . . a shaft aimed so well at its target that both the friends and foes of Chancellor Adenauer are urging him to accept he invitation."

The note will tend to appeal to different, even opposing factions in Germany, France and England. For it (1) offers the hope of eventual German reunification; (2) appears to accept for the time being the division of Germany.

NO EASY WAY OUT: Once again the long-term perspective of Soviet policy has been made clear. Recently, some Western sources have professed to see a Soviet willingness to grant German unification in return for a paper guarantee of neutrality by Adenauer. But the June 7 note offers no such easy solution. It is not even an invitation to a settlement but rather an offer to normalize relations as a necessary first step toward creating the conditions which will permit a settlement. What these conditions may be was suggested by E. German President Wilhelm Pieck on the 85th anniversary of Lenin's birth, April 22. Pieck said that

> ". . . peaceful reunification of Germany is unthinkable unless the Paris agreements are annulled, unless the masses of the working people in W. Germany secure democratic freedoms in order to decide their own fate."

These democratic freedoms can be assured, he added, only if

> ". . . the reactionanry forces of militarism . . . [are] completely deprived of power in W. Germany . . . [and if] aggressive German imperialism, embodied principally in the trusts and concerns of heavy industry and their 'fuehrers of military economy,' be deprived of their key posts in the Federal Republic."

CLASSIC PATTERN: On the heels of the Soviet note, two facts became plain:

- The W. German government could not reject the invitation to talk to the Russians even if it so desired. "Nobody has suggested turning the invitation down," said the NYHT (6/9). Bonn may be considerably less averse to the meeting than Washington would like to believe. Adenauer has followed the classic strategy of seeking to avoid German isolation by preventing the formation of a Soviet-Western front. When it has got all it can from the West, Bonn is likely to turn to the East. London's Daily Express a month ago reported that Adenauer was demanding new concessions from the West (greater sovereignty than that accorded under the Paris contract), his threat being that "unless concessions are made, pressure to do a deal with the Russians will be irresistible."

- Washington's position on the eve of East-West talks has been greatly complicated. President Eisenhower and other spokesmen put a brave face on the matter, expressing their "complete confidence" in Dr. Adenauer. But the Wall St. Journal (6/9) warned Western diplomats, as they "glumly contemplate" the Soviet note, that rather than "confine their thoughts to the steadfastness of Dr. Adenauer," they had

> ". . . best be thinking about the present pressures inside Germany for unification, for more trade and closer diplomatic relations with the Soviets."

THE NAYSAYER: Two years ago Stewart Alsop (8/28/53) pointed out that American policy in Europe has been

> ". . . squarely based on the assumption that the division of Europe into two parts . . . is a permanent condition of life. For the Europeans this is a well-nigh intolerable condition. . . . If we continue to appear the eternal naysayers, the apostles of rigidity, the gulf [between Europe and America] is likely to become so wide that the whole structure of our policy will come crashing about our ears."

Washington is still the apostle of rigidity. It wants, said Business Week (6/11) "no relaxation in Europe until Moscow gives up E. Germany, loosens its hold on the satellites and halts international subversion through the Cominform."

Washington is placing increasing emphasis on "liberation of the satellites" as its only counter to the U.S.S.R.'s European policy. But this aim is so much out of accord with today's realities as to constitute nothing more than a provocation, an effort to wreck talks even before they start.

In a diplomatic contest in which the Soviets, as the N.Y. World Telegram (6/9) pointed out, "have mighty high cards to play," this purely negative policy can only compound Washington's dilemma.

IN PARIS THE TALK WAS IN FRENCH ABOUT GERMANY
French Foreign Minister Pinay with Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov

Dowling in N.Y. Herald Tribune
They can certainly change their program in a hurry.

Immel in Peoria Journal
VILL IT BE A HIT OR A MISS?

UN DEMONSTRATION CALLED JUNE 23

Pickets to protest Greek executions

THE COUNCIL of Greek Americans has called for a mass picket line in front of the UN Thurs., June 23, from 5-7 p.m. to protest continued execution of Greek patriots.

Before last November's elections in Greece, six were executed, 80 arrested. From March 20 to April 7, courts martial in Salonica and Kavalla sentenced six of the 80 to death. An Athens court martial has sentenced two more to die and the council last week said it feared all 80 may be killed unless public opinion stays the hand of the regime of Marshal Papagos.

In 1948 UN action saved the lives of 10 Greek maritime trade unionists under death sentence.

See you at the
BIG GUARDIAN WEEK-END
AT WINGDALE LODGE
Fri.-Sun., June 24-26
See Page 12

NEW YORK

Loyalty oaths for tenants in court June 24

THE drive to exact "loyalty" oaths from 30,000 tenants in federally-aided housing projects in New York City neared a showdown set for June 24. On that date City Housing Authority officials will go into court asking that eviction notices to be served on all those who fail to sign. On June 13 the CHA announced it had received signed oaths from 26,000. Court battles on the evictions were expected.

N. Y. Civil Liberties Union officials told the GUARDIAN that while they were confident many would refuse to sign, few had come to the Union. The Union is admittedly seeking a case with which it can challenge the evictions.

The CHA is proceeding on the basis of the Gwinn Amendment, rider to a housing appropriations act passed in 1952, now being tested in the courts. Similar actions have been reversed by high courts in California and Wisconsin on constitutional grounds, and in Illinois on technical grounds.

MEETING BANNED: Tenants' organizations have charged that the move is designed to intimidate tenants, prevent them from joining together for their own interests. That charge was given greater substance early this month when the CHA banned from a housing project auditorium a meeting scheduled to discuss a "controversial" topic: desegregation in housing.

The Brooklyn Tenants, Welfare and Consumers Council had originally called the meeting for June 3 in the Albany Houses, a CHA project in Brooklyn, to publicize the Metcalf-Baker Act outlawing discrimination in public housing effective July 1. Mrs. Laura Hill, Council exec. secy., said that two days before the meeting she received back the advance payment she had put down for the use of the Community Center.

She telephoned the CHA and was told by a Miss Wolfolk of the agency's community relations division: "The position of the New York City Housing Authority is that desegregation of housing is a controversial subject and no controversial subject may be discussed at any meeting held in a Housing Authority meeting room."

CHARGE OF BIAS: Mrs. Hall commented: "This 11th hour cancellation of our meeting underscores our past experience with bias in the Housing Authority."

The meeting was transferred to Brooklyn's Siloam Presbyterian Church, where more than 100 persons approved a resolution calling on Mayor Wagner, the City Council and the State Committee Against Discrimination to investigate bias charges against the CHA.

THE GUARDIAN ANGEL

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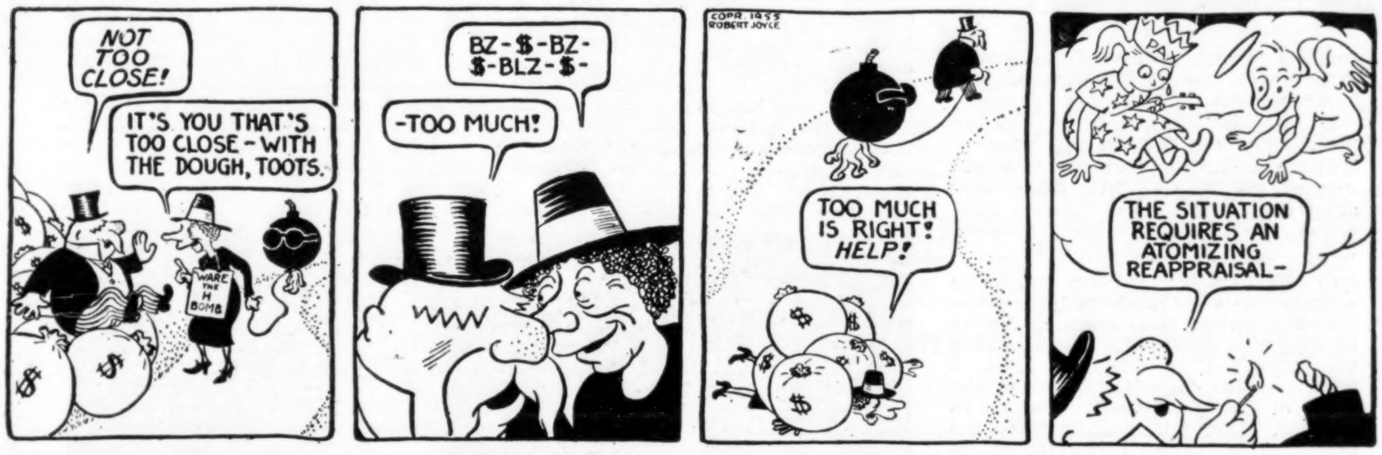

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The Belfrage Case

(Continued from Page 1)

son terms of a year or more. The seventh was Belfrage.

EXPLANATION DEMANDED: On June 11 the **Times** printed Aronson's letter and in an adjoining column carried an editorial which said in part:

"The disclosure that the Immigration and Naturalization Service has reversed its previous policy and is again throwing into jail aliens held while their cases are pending calls for a frank explanation by whoever is responsible. . . .

"As we have repeatedly pointed out, we see no excuse for the imprisonment of anyone—citizen or alien—except through conviction of a crime by due process of law in open court. Federal law gives the Immigration authorities power to 'detain' aliens under certain circumstances—but in 'appropriate places,' not jails. . . .

"District Director Shaughnessy says that six of the seven in the West Street jail have served prison terms before. But isn't this in effect punishing them twice for the same offense? And how about the seventh [Belfrage], who hasn't been convicted of any crime? The public is entitled to the answers."

CELLER JOINS FIGHT: The next day in Washington Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N. Y.) joined the criticism of the Immigration Dept. practices. "There is no authority to imprison," he said. In an obvious reference to Belfrage, he added:

"Gen. Swing [Commissioner of Immigration] is presently holding a deportation detainee in a New York prison. Comfortable quarters in the Federal Building have been set up for this purpose. Gen. Swing had announced such a policy. He is departing from it now. His strict martinet attitude is again getting him in trouble."

Meanwhile, on the legal front, Belfrage's attorneys filed briefs with the Circuit Court of Appeals, which has reserved decision both on the question of bail and the request to reverse the District Court's upholding of the deportation order. The Government had until June 15 to file its briefs. There was no indication when the decision would be announced.

Belfrage and the free press

Following are comments from the few publications in America which have not turned their back on the Belfrage Case:

IOWA UNION FARMER: "The Iowa Union Farmer wants to be on record protesting the jailing of Cedric Belfrage. . . . The real reason is his consistent anti-fascist record. . . . Anyone who is **really** for a free press and a free world can hardly be silent on this. If this can be done to Belfrage and the GUARDIAN then no newspaper is really safe. The First Amendment isn't safe. All American freedoms are in danger."

THE MONTHLY REVIEW: "Cedric Belfrage is once again in jail, victim of a vindictive deportation campaign which ought to be recognized by all publishers, editors and writers for what it is, a serious threat to freedom of the press. We think it is high time for some of those representatives of the press who have been talking fair words about the need for freedom to **do** something about it—and we can think of no better place to start than the Belfrage case."

THE NATION: "The continued harassment of Cedric Belfrage can no longer be dismissed, if indeed it ever could, as merely another manifestation of the current deportation delirium. Both the manner of Belfrage's arrest, on an order for immediate deportation, and the fact that he was held without bail, suggest that the Dept. of Justice is playing a cat-and-mouse game with him in which his harassment has become an end in itself. The department should be defrosted: Mr. Brownell continues to act as if it were his intention to heat up the cold war that his chief is trying to abate."

LETTERS URGED

Mrs. Ingram's parole comes up in August

MRS. ROSA LEE INGRAM and her sons Wallace, 16, and Sammie, 14, will be legally eligible for parole from Georgia State Prison in August, but they will be released, declares the Provisional Committee to Free the Ingrams, only through a "nationwide" demand."

The 40-year-old Negro widow, living with her 12 children and managing the sharecropper farm, was attacked with knife and gun on Nov. 4, 1947, by white sharecropper John Stafford. Wallace, in a tussle with Stafford, allegedly killed him. Mrs. Ingram, Wallace and Sammie were tried and sentenced to die. A new trial was denied; death sentence was commuted to life in prison.

Efforts by the Civil Rights Congress and other organizations to free the Ingrams have never ceased. The Provisional Committee, headed by Mrs. Maude White Katz, 750 Riverside Dr., (FO 8-8908) N. Y. C., will lead a delegation to Washington June 24 to urge President Eisenhower, Atty. Gen. Brownell and Sen. George (D-Ga.) to intervene for the Ingrams' freedom.

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NEW YORK CALENDAR

CLUB CINEMA, 430 6th Av. June 18: "AS YOU LIKE IT." Lawrence Olivier and Elizabeth Bergner in the well-loved Shakespearean comedy. Showings: Saturday only from 9 p.m. Adm.: Members, $1; non-members, $1.25. Next week: "THE CRUEL SEA."

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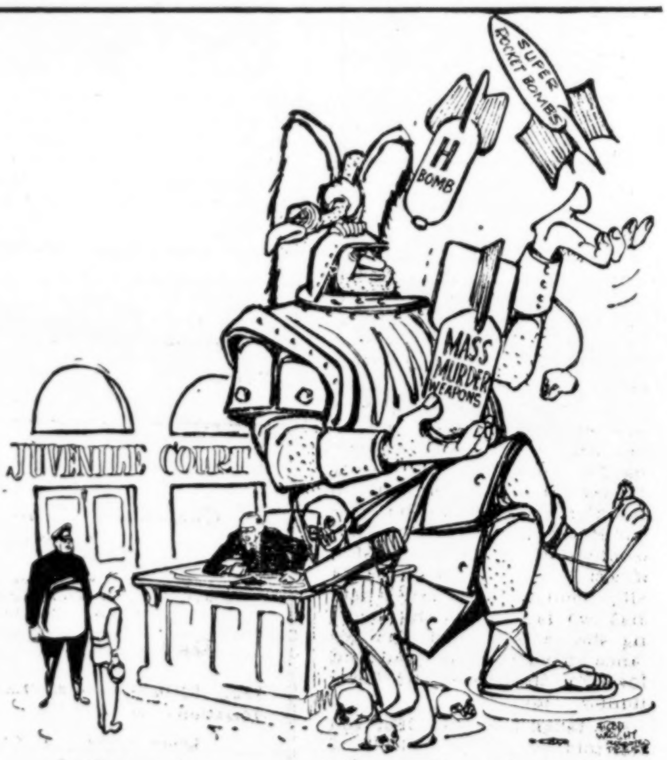

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GM settles on Ford terms; workers not too happy

By Lawrence Emery

GENERAL MOTORS, world's biggest auto producer, in the early morning hours of Mon., June 13, agreed to a new three-year contract with the CIO United Auto Workers and averted a strike that would have affected more than 350,000 workers in its 119 plants in 64 cities in 20 states. Although UAW president Walter Reuther had boasted that he would get more from GM than he had won a week earlier from the Ford Motor Co., the two contracts were almost identical.

A major effect of the GM settlement without a strike will be the uninterrupted continuation of savage rivalry between the two big companies for supremacy in the lower-priced car field. Auto production for this year now promises to top all previous records.

RANK - AND - FILE BEEFS: Most ballyhooed feature of both contracts is a supplemental unemployment benefit plan under which the companies agree to pay laid-off workers enough to make their income equal 65-60% of their take-home pay for a maximum period of 26 weeks. But assembly-line workers were far less enthusiastic about this scheme than their union president; a careful reading of the fine print showed that few laid-off workers would ever qualify for maximum benefits for the maximum duration. Rank-and-file members felt that many contract items more immediately important to them had been traded off for the lay-off plan.

Highly skilled tool and die makers and maintenance men were resentful that their demands for wage increases to bring their pay up to that prevailing in outside job plants were not met. There was widespread disappointment that grievance machinery was not improved, that no curbs were placed on company control of speed-up, and that a demand for a fair employment practices clause was abandoned.

RELUCTANT RETURN: Monetary gains in the new contracts were estimated by Reuther to total 20c an hour. They included automatic annual pay boosts of 6c to 8c an hour, improvements in pension, vacation, holiday, overtime and hospital-insurance clauses. In addition, GM granted an unqualified union shop, which means that about 5% of GM workers who have never joined the union will now have to sign up to keep their jobs.

Employes of both companies were restive while the contract talks went on and unauthorized strikes closed numerous plants around the country both before and after the strike deadlines were reached. In scattered places there was a reluctance to return to work even after the settlement was announced. It was clear that in both companies there would be some intensive bargaining on plant levels over local grievances.

Reuther said the same demands contained in the Ford and GM contracts will be made upon the Chrysler Corp., whose contract with the union expires Aug. 31. For smaller companies like the American Motors Corp. (Nash and Hudson) he intimated that the union might propose a "pooled" fund from which unemployment benefits could be paid. American Motors has already laid off 3,400 workers for an indefinite period.

Negotiations are now proceeding in the rubber industry; a strike against the B. F. Goodrich Co. was postponed indefinitely on June 11 by the CIO United Rubber Workers.

With the principle of pay during lay-offs accepted by the two giants in the auto industry, speculation in business circles last week centered on how labor would apply the principle to smaller, less prosperous corporations. But that it would to applied—and not only by the CIO—was indicated in an editorial in the AFL News-Reporter which described the Ford pact as an "epochal agreement."